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Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03 ACDA-12
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
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USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY
USCINCEUR PRIORITY
USCINCLANT PRIORITY
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USDEL MC PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 121036

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, NATO

SUBJECT: LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM

1. PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING ROUND ROBIN LETTER FROM SECDEF BROWN TO DEFENSE MINISTER (REYKJAVIK TO APPROPRIATE OFFICIAL), WITH INDIVIDUAL ADDITIONS FROM PARAGRAPHS 2-6 BELOW: BEGIN TEXT:

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DEAR :

WHEN I LAST WROTE YOU ABOUT THE LTDP, WE HAD JUST RECEIVED THE NINE TASK FORCE REPORTS. SOME BLUNTING OF THEIR THRUST HAS OCCURRED SINCE THEN. BUT I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN STILL PRODUCE A VITALLY NEEDED BLUEPRINT FOR HELPING TO PRESERVE CREDIBLE ALLIANCE DEFENSE THROUGH THE NINETEEN

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EIGHTIES IFWE CAN KEEP OUR EFFORT FROM BECOMING MERELY A STATEMENT OF GOOD INTENTIONS. THEREFORE, I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU IN ADVANCE THE POSITION I SHALL TAKE AT OUR MEETING ON 18-19 MAY. I HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO JOIN ME IN PRESENTING A CHALLENGING REPORT TO OUR HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT.

IN NINE PRIORITY AREAS, THE LTDP CALLS FOR ALLIANCE AGREEMENT ON A SERIES OF HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT COOPERATIVE

MEASURES TO ENHANCE THE COMMON DEFENSE. IN THE TENTH--THEATER NUCLEAR MODERNIZATION--PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS CONTINUE. THESE MEASURES ARE HEARTILY ENDORSED BY THE NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES. INDEED MANY ARE THEIR OWN INITIATIVES. OUR APPROVAL OF THESE MEASURES WILL BE A CLEAR SIGNAL TO FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE THAT WE ARE DETERMINED TO KEEP UP OUR GUARD.

MOREOVER, I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THE MEASURES PROPOSED ARE IN GENERAL ECONOMICALLY AND POLITICALLY FEASIBLE, PARTICULARLY AS NOW MODIFIED. FUNDING FOR MOST OF THEM IS ALREADY PROJECTED IN NATIONAL PROGRAMS, OR COULD BE READILY ACCOMMODATED BY MODEST CHANGES IN PRIORITY OR ADJUSTMENTS TO CONFORM NATIONAL PROGRAMS TO AGREED NATO STANDARDS. INDEED, THE WHOLE THRUST OF THE LTDP IS NOT TOWARD HUGE ADDED EXPENDITURES BUT TOWARD UTILIZING MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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EFFECTIVELY THE VAST SUMS WE ALREADY SPEND COLLECTIVELY. SINCE THE LTDP WOULD ABSORB ONLY A MINOR FRACTION OF TOTAL DEFENSE SPENDING, I BELIEVE THAT THE GREAT BULK OF IT CAN BE FUNDED WITHIN THE 3 PERCENT REAL ANNUAL GROWTH IN DEFENSE SPENDING--IF WE ASSIGN IT THE NECESSARY PRIORITY.

IN ANY CASE, I BELIEVE WE ALL NOW HAVE A COMMON UNDER-STANDING THAT APPROVING THE LTDP DOES NOT ENTAIL SIGNING ANY BLANK CHECKS. IT CALLS FOR GENERAL COMMITMENTS TO COOPERATE IN BROADLY SPECIFIED PROGRAMS OVER THE NEXT 10-15 YEARS. THESE COMMITMENTS WILL NECESSARILY BE SUBJECT TO FURTHER COST ANALYSIS, BLENDING OF PROGRAMS, AVAILABILITY OF RESOURCES, AND THE LIKE. IN SOME CASES, PROGRAMS WOULD NOT EVEN BEGIN UNTIL THE MID-80S. MORE-OVER, WHAT WE DO AGREE ON, ESPECIALLY FOR THE LONGER TERM, WILL OBVIOUSLY BE SUBJECT TO FURTHER REVIEW AND MODIFICATION IN SCOPE AND SCHEDULE AS THE SITUATION UNFOLDS.

A FIRM GENERAL AGREEMENT TO PURSUE THESE COMMON ENDS WILL BE AN UNPRECEDENTED STEP FORWARD FOR NATO, BUT ONLY IF

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WE FOLLOW THROUGH VIGOROUSLY. THEREFORE, WE MUST AVOID A MAJOR PROBLEM WITH PREVIOUS COLLECTIVE ENDEAVORS, SUCH AS THE AD-70 REPORT, WHICH WERE HANDSOMELY ENDORSED BUT THEN LARGELY IGNORED BY NATIONS. TO THIS END THE US HAS PROPOSED THAT THE LTDP REPORT CALL FOR STRONGER FOLLOW-THROUGH MACHINERY IN SEVERAL KEY RESPECTS. I FIND THAT MORE THAN HALF OF THE REMAINING ISSUES ON WHICH WE DISAGREE WITH OUR ALLIES REALLY RELATE TO STRENGTHENING NATO MACHINERY FOR THIS PURPOSE. I BELIEVE THAT WE AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL ARE IN THE BEST POSITION

TO RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR MEASURES SUCH AS CLEAR ASSIGN-MENT OF COORDINATING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COLLECTIVE ASPECTS OF KEY PROGRAMS TO THE MAJOR NATO COMMANDERS
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OR TO A NEW ASG FOR LOGISTICS, AND SETTING UP A JOINT LOGISTICS COORDINATING COMMAND IN AFCENT. NOR DO ANY OF THESE MEASURES ENTAIL LARGE ADDED FUNDING.

I WILL NOT GO INTO DETAIL ON OTHER US PROPOSALS FOR STRENGTHENING THE LTDP, BECAUSE YOUR STAFFS WILL BE BRIEFING YOU ON THOSE THAT REMAIN. BUT I DO HOPE THAT YOU CAN JOIN ME IN THESE, IN THE INTEREST OF PRESENTING A CHALLENGING AGREED REPORT TO OUR HEADS OF GOVERNMENT. I HAVE TOLD A SKEPTICAL CONGRESS THAT SUCH A BOLD LONG-TERM PROGRAM WILL PROVE TO THEM ALLIED DETERMINATION TO STRENGTHEN NATO'S DEFENSE, AND LAY TO REST RECURRENT CONCERN THAT THE US IS ALWAYS DOING MORE THAN ITS FAIR SHARE. I URGE YOU TO JOIN ME IN THIS ENDEAVOR.

SINCERELY,

HAROLD BROWN

END TEXT.

2. FOR BRUSSELS, ADD FOLLOWING POSTCRIPT FOR VAN DEN BOEYNANTS. QUOTE: WE APPRECIATE YOUR SUPPORT ON OUR ATTEMPT TO DESIGNATE THE MNCS TO COORDINATE AND MONITOR THE PROGRAMS. I DO HOPE THAT BELGIUM CAN REMOVE MANY OF ITS OWN RESERVATIONS, AS WE HAVE DONE AND ARE CON-TINUING TO DO, IN THE LIGHT OF MY EXPLANATIONS ABOVE. UNQUOTE.

3. FOR ANKARA. ADD FOLLOWING POSTSCRIPT FOR DEFMIN ISIK. QUOTE. IN ADDITION, I DO HOPE THAT TURKEY CAN REMOVE MANY OF ITS NUMEROUS RESERVATIONS, AS WE HAVE DONE AND ARE CONTINUING TO DO. I FULLY REALIZE TURKEY'S SPECIAL
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PROBLEMS AND AM DOING EVERYTHING I CAN ABOUT THEM.
BUT FOOTNOTES TO THE LTDP WILL NOT SERVE OUR MUTUAL
INTERESTS. UNQUOTE.

4. FOR ROME, ADD FOLLOWING POSTSCRIPT. QUOTE: I DO
HOPE THAT ITALY CAN NOW REMOVE MOST OF ITS RESERVATIONS
AS WE HAVE DONE AND ARE CONTINUING TO DO, IN THE LIGHT
OF MY EXPLANATIONS ABOVE. UNQUOTE.

5. FOR BONN: PLEASE ADD FINAL PARA TO SECDEF MESSAGE AS
FOLLOWS: "FROM YOUR 5 MAY LETTER, I CONCLUDE THAT WE AGREE
ON HOW TO HANDLE THE LTDP, EXCEPT IN ONE SIGNIFICANT
RESPECT. I INFER THAT YOU BELIEVE NATIONAL PROGRAMS MUST
TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER COMMON LTDP PROGRAMS WHEREVER THERE
MAY BE A CONFLICT. AS WE DISCUSSED IN BONN, I THINK ALL
OF US MUST BE WILLING TO CONSIDER AT LEAST SOME
REPROGRAMMING OR ADJUSTING OF OUR NATIONAL EFFORTS WHEN
THIS IS ESSENTIAL TO ACHIEVE GREATER ALLIANCE COOPERATION.
THIS SERVES THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF ALL ALLIES. FOR
EXAMPLE, I AM MAKING MAJOR SHIFTS IN OUR OWN PROGRAMS TO
ACCELERATE US REINFORCEMENT OF NATO AND TO ENHANCE
ARMAMENTS COLLABORATION. THIS IS CRUCIAL TO A MORE COST-
EFFECTIVE COMMON DEFENSE. MOREOVER, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT
GREATER ALLIANCE COOPERATION WOULD BE A POWERFUL ANTIDOTE
TO ANY CONCERNS THAT GERMANY WAS DRIFTING INTO "A ROLE
OF MILITARY LEADERSHIP" OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIES. WE ARE
CONTINUING TO REVIEW OUR FOOTNOTES WITH A VIEW TOWARD
REDUCING THE NUMBER AND HOPE YOU ARE DOING THE SAME."

6. FOR COPENHAGEN: PLEASE ADD POSTSCRIPT AS FOLLOWS:
QUOTE. I NOTE THAT DENMARK HAS TWELVE RESERVATIONS TO
THE LTDP REPORT AND ANNEXES. I DO HOPE THAT YOU CAN NOW
WITHDRAW ALL WHICH ARE NOT ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL, AS WE
HAVE DONE AND ARE CONTINUING TO DO, IN THE INTERESTS OF
ALLIED SOLIDARITY. END QUOTE.

7. WE REQUEST THAT WHEN EMBASSIES DELIVER LETTER THEY
USE OCCASION TO ZERO IN AGAIN ON SPECIFIC POINTS APPLICABLE
TO RELEVANT NATIONAL POSITIONS ON LTDP, IN LIGHT OF ALLIED
POSITIONS AT 8 MAY PERMREP SESSION (PER USNATO 04613 AND
04626). WE ARE ESPECIALLY EAGER TO GET WITHDRAWAL OF
ALL BUT THE MOST ESSENTIAL NATIONAL FOOTNOTES, AS US HAS
DONE AND IS CONTINUING TO DO.

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